THE WORLD TOMORROW

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

Japan at the Judgment Bar

An Editorial

Socialism's Bed-Rock

McAlister Coleman

Explosive Ireland

H. N. BRAILSFORD

RELIGION IS REVOLUTIONARY!

Edward L. Israel

NOVEMBER 30th/32

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This Week's Anniversary

THOMAS CARLYLE

BORN DECEMBER 4, 1795

There is still a real magic in the action and reaction of minds on one another. The casual deliration of a few becomes, by this mysterious reverberation, the frenzy of the many. . . . No solitary miscreant, scarcely any solitary maniac, would venture on such actions and imaginations, as large communities of sane men have, in such circumstances, entertained as sound wisdom. . . . The New-England Puritan burns witches, wrestles for months with the horrors of Satan's invisible world, and all ghastly phantasms . . . then suddenly bethinks him that he is frantic, weeps bitterly, prays contritely, and the history of that gloomy season lies behind him like a frightful dream. . . .Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. . . . Our true Deity is Mechanism. It has subdued eternal Nature for us, and we think it will do all other things. . . . The time is sick and out of joint . . . public principle is gone; private honesty is going; society, in short, is fast falling in pieces; and a time of unmixed evil is come on us.—From *Signs of the Times,* 1829.

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Japan at the Judgment Bar

Deny everything! Confess nothing! Blame all on your opponents! Bluster and threaten! In this fashion Japan responded to the Lytton Report. In addressing the Council of the League of Nations, Mr. Matsuoka unblushingly asserted: "We have violated neither the covenant of the League nor the Nine-Power Treaty nor the Pact of Paris. . . . We acted spontaneously in self-defense. . . . China and the independent government of Chang Hsiao-liang are themselves responsible. It was their doing, not ours, and it was done against our repeated and persistent warnings."

All of Japan's actions in Manchuria are defended as legitimate and imperative measures of self-defense. Complaint is made that the Commission failed to emphasize "the one basic cause" of the crisis, China's fixed intention to annihilate Japanese rights in Manchuria," whereas "the Japanese Government were doing all in their power to lessen the tension, and to diminish the likelihood of an appeal to force. . . . There was the danger constituted by an overt act by members of a vastly superior force, capable, if not nipped in the bud, of driving the Japanese into the sea. There was no choice of means—what else was to be done? . . . In short, the whole series of operations were entailed by the putting into execution of a plan carefully planned to meet the alarming eventuality of a Chinese attack. They had no relation to anything but self-defense, and the Japanese Government cannot allow either their necessity or their appropriateness to be the subject of discussion."

On the other hand, the League commissioners, in describing the fateful events of September 18, 1931, when Japanese armed forces seized Mukden, say unequivocally: "The military operations of the Japanese troops during this night . . . cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defense."

Concerning the manner in which the "independent" state was formed, the Japanese reply says: "Coming to the actual establishment of the new State of Manchukuo, the Report states categorically that its proclamation was inaugurated, organized and carried through by the Japanese. . . . The facts are otherwise. . . . Neither the Japanese Government nor the Japanese Headquarters Staff gave these wider ideas any encouragement. Baron Shidehara, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Minami, Minister of War, both issued instructions on September 26 strictly forbidding participation by the Japanese in the various attempts to establish a new political authority in Manchuria; and in conformity with these instructions the Japanese, civil as well as military, uniformly abstained from interference."

The solution of the Manchurian problem appears to Japan's spokesmen quite simple. Let the other Powers recognize the new State of Manchukuo, and the prospects will be "brilliant." This is the only possible "means of stabilizing conditions in Manchuria and of bringing peace to the Far East." The various recommendations of the Lytton Commission are bluntly rejected, and Mr. Matsuoka went so far as to say: "The mere consideration on our part of an alternative solution might possibly lay the whole Far Eastern situation open to serious disorder. . . . We can enter into no such consideration."

Thus Japan brazenly defies the moral judgment of the world. The evidence is clear to everyone else that Japan's aggressions in Manchuria constitute a flagrant breach of her international obligations. Friends of international peace everywhere should realize clearly the magnitude of the issues involved in the struggle now being waged around the Council table at Geneva. If Japan is permitted to succeed in her avowed policy of separating Manchuria from China and of ruling the new state through a puppet government, the consequences will be utterly disastrous. The Briand-Kellogg Treaty will become another tragic scrap of paper, the Nine-Power Treaty will be thrown on the scrap heap, and the League of Nations will be dealt a staggering blow. China will be infuriated and driven further toward militarism. The boycott against Japan will be intensified and will increase the probabilities of economic disaster in both countries. The militarists of Japan will be strengthened in their mad policy. Disarmament will be made a distant dream. Chauvinism and militarism will everywhere be aggravated.

In the face of such ominous possibilities, it would would be natural to suppose that the Council of the League would deal resolutely with Japan and demand the withdrawal of Japanese forces to the railway zone, and the inauguration of conferences leading to a solution along lines laid down in the Lytton Report. Unfortunately, however, the Council is at present dominated by imperialist powers whose garments are soiled and who are extremely reluctant to set precedents

which may limit their own future aggressions. During the address of China's representative before the Council, "Joseph Paul-Boncour, French War Minister, took a short nap," reports the correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune,* "and Sir John Simon, British Foreign Secretary, a long one."

The most encouraging aspect of the situation is the probability that the whole problem will soon be transferred to the Assembly of the League, where the small Powers have more influence and where a more vigorous policy against Japan is likely to be adopted. It is imperative that public opinion in the United States should refuse to acquiesce in Japan's seizure of this vast area of Chinese territory, and should demand united action to compel an adjustment in accordance with the general terms of the Lytton Report, which we interpreted at length in an earlier issue. Pacifists should stand unqualifiedly against the use of armed sanctions, but should join in supporting the League in its use of moral, diplomatic and financial pressure to compel observance of international obligations and to preserve the peace of the world.

To bring pressure to bear upon Japan at this critical moment is admittedly dangerous. Not only are militarists in the saddle and recklessly determined to make no concessions, but it also is a fact that the Japanese people in general keenly resent criticism which they regard as unjust. Pacifists are therefore likely to urge caution in using coercion against Japan. On the other hand, procrastination and timidity are likely to intensify Japan's determination not to relinquish military and political control of Manchuria, and thus produce the even more terrible results which we have outlined. The least that peace-workers should do is to unite in urging the League of Nations not to acquiesce in this act of military conquest.

German Socialists Revive Opposition

"Too late," unfortunately, seems to be the only comment that can realistically be made regarding the new stand of the German Social-Democrats in refusing to associate themselves in any kind of coalition under the von Papen regime. The decision to reject the suggestion made by Herr von Papen received marked attention, nevertheless, when it was announced on the 15th of this month, and for two reasons. In the first place, it constituted a reversal of the long policy of the Socialists toward the Bruening coalition, and inspired some hope among Socialists in other countries that the Social-Democracy of Germany, despite its fagging leadership and its loss of younger members to the Nazis and Communists, might by resuming a bold program once again constitute itself a genuine force.

In the second place, the declaration of a no-compromise policy followed on the heels of a Socialist gathering in which leaders formerly characterized by less radical tactics frankly called for a union between Socialists and Communists in a great drive to overthro the junker rule and take advantage of the present p riod of waning Hitlerite prestige. Underground neg tiations for a rapprochement between the Socialists an Communists have been going on sporadically, c course, for many months. They have never come t any practical outcome, nor are they likely now to eve tuate in any actual united front. This is not entirel the fault of the Communists, it must be said; for th Social-Democrats, while facing admittedly terrific di ficulties and dilemmas, have gone farther than nece sary in compromise and have often allowed municip progress to blind their eyes to the dire national nee for a bold leadership against reaction. But it is als true that German Communists, though more realisti and coöperative in some ways than the Communists o certain other countries, evince the orthodox communis inability to coöperate without domination. Beside they have done their own share to inflict deep an abiding wounds in German socialism, even among thos who are at the Left of the Socialist rank and fil Germany more than any other land has shown for considerable period the costliness of a breach in labo aims and strategy. If the Socialists, however, persis in their new attitude of defiance and put forward strong Socialist program, they may even now stage a unexpected come-back. The basic strength of thei membership and their hold on some of the importan trade unions have not yet been shattered. But in th past it has been a sad truth that the very trade unio support which has quantitatively been a source o power has qualitatively accounted for a good deal o the flabbiness in their official program.

The A. F. of L. Awakens

Not yet wide awake, but casting off its sleep of man years, the American Federation of Labor has met i its great Cincinnati convention to deal with a repor of its executive council which recommends a drasti change of policy toward unemployment insurance. A we go to press, the fate of the report is not certain but the mere fact that it could be seriously put for ward marks a milestone. The A. F. of L. counc does not suggest federal insurance schemes, in vie of the manifold legal encumbrances which, it say stand in the way. It proposes that three per cent o industry's payroll be set aside to create unemploymen insurance funds within the several states, without an sharing of the expense by the workers. Our detaile comments must await the final verdict of the organiza tion as the convention closes; but meantime we re joice, not only at this particular phase of the Federa tion's recommendations, but over the attack it mad simultaneously on the maldistribution of wealth. If i goes so far as to see the facts, it may yet move ahea in a course more consistent with their social impli cations.

cia Wins

Spain's Fate Hangs on Election Today", "Barce- Guarded On Eve of Elections"—with such alarm- eadlines the American press echoed the open fear he correspondents in Spain regarding Catalonia's separate elections since 1705, which took place on day, November 20. Occasionally it seems as if the ons who, among all the people of the world, are t well informed about Spain, are the newspaper e located in the peninsula. Col. Francisco Macia, d of the Catalonian Generalidad, was swept into er during the fateful elections of April 12, 1931, a majority of almost 92 per cent; and every indi- on existing outside the athletic imagination of cor- ondents pointed to his retention of popular esteem. e elections were run off quietly, and Col. Macia rged with 67 out of 85 seats in the semi-self-govern- provincial legislature. The real significance of the tion was that Macia, who had suppressed his rmy demands for autonomy to the point of reason, uld be able to support, with Catalonian prestige, the ical Republican regime at Madrid. Of that now re can be no doubt. The Anarcho-Syndicalists of rcelona, whose disaffection with any government is onic, held back the menace of general strikes; while or Cambo, long a leader of Catalonian big-business aratism, despite an expensive campaign, went down e more in ignominious oblivion. The Spanish Re- blic has turned another corner, important to be sure, t far less critical than the calamity-howlers would e to have Americans believe.

oung Friends Turning to Socialism

Our recently expressed hope that the historic brav- and sacrificial devotion of the Society of Friends ll yet be directed into economic channels brought us an interesting document which is being widely culated by a group of younger Friends. The heart this appeal is found in these words:

> We believe thoroughly in the tenet which is held generally by Friends, that Society and Industry should regard supremely the value and welfare of human beings. We have come to believe further, however, that this generality, when interpreted in terms of a realistic program which is at all adequate for the transformation of our social order, leads us logically and inexorably to Socialism, which stands for the social ownership and control of the principal means of production and distribution for use and not for profit. Socialism does not exhaust the meaning of Christianity as applied to human relations, but we have come to believe that Socialism is a minimum which our Christianity requires of us. . . . We are avowing our conscientious support of the program of Socialism as the only course open to us. We believe it is more Christian in its aims and methods than any other program of social reconstruction. Some of us are members of the Socialist Party; others expect to become members soon. All of us are doing what we think will help most towards the furthering of the cause of Socialism.

Friends as a group have a unique historic record of accomplishment as reformers and revolutionaries, and we hail with enthusiasm this sign of advance toward economic radicalism.

Soviet Labor Problems

As the Five-Year Plan marches on toward its expected conclusion in four years, one of the commonplaces about Russia becomes increasingly plain, namely, that it is neither the paradise painted by some of its most uncritical friends nor the failure portrayed by its hostile analysts. In the New York *Times* of November 16 Mr. Walter Duranty, that ace of correspondents, discusses a leading editorial in *Pravda* regarding the troublesome situation of the country's program with regard to labor. A labor turnover exists in the chief branches of heavy industry amounting to 10 per cent as a minimum, and running up to 18 per cent, this percentage being figured on a monthly basis. Thus, as *Pravda* naturally exclaims, this floating labor population comes up to 126 per cent a year at its worst and even at its best to 120 per cent. It lies at the root of the obvious disorganization noticeable in many crucial areas. The Soviet journal calls for vigorous steps to liquidate labor flotation, without mercy to "loafers, shirkers, petty bourgeois, and speculators who are disorganizing factories"; but it also declares that some of the disturbers are members of the Communist Youth Party. The reason why so many workers, most of them young, leave their jobs and seek work elsewhere on a perpetual quest for ideal conditions, is assigned variously to poor food supply, bad factory management, and the very human desire, under present conditions, to start work in a new place where fresh supplies of food and clothing can be obtained from a local coöperative. It is interesting to hear of a threatened blacklist in Soviet Russia, even though it be a blacklist of habitual transitory laborers.

There is little in this situation, bad as it indubitably is, to warrant any generalizations about the weakness of human nature or even about the stress and strain of the great Communist experiment. There may be ground for questioning some of the basic assumptions of orthodox communism, however, with respect to the efficiency of harsh administration and regimentation of life, notwithstanding the voluntary speeding up of the customary tempos by slogans and crusading zeal. Underneath every other cause of the trouble, in all probability, is the simple but critical difficulty of infusing workers who have grown out of so unmechanical and inefficient a background and tradition with those incalculable qualities that bring faithfulness to a job and precise reliability in its execution day after day. This is not the least of Soviet Russia's contradictions: that in its race upward toward a higher type of economic civilization it has been necessary to deify the capitalist gods of efficiency and mechanization.

Wisconsin Retreats

On November 7, the eve of the election, the Wisconsin Industrial Commission abandoned its former prohibition of night work for women and permitted firms, subject to certain qualifications, to employ women between the hours of six and ten in the evening. This decision was undoubtedly made in order to permit Wisconsin manufacturers, particularly of hosiery, to compete on more favorable terms with those of other states and thus to reduce the volume of unemployment within Wisconsin itself. But the abandonment of such labor standards does not so much decrease the total volume of unemployment as it tends to exert pressure on other states to relax their laws in turn, with the final result that the conditions of labor are degraded everywhere. The undermining process in one state loosens the foundations of social legislation throughout the nation. Erosion becomes more devastating the longer it is ignored.

It is indeed a sad commentary upon the progressivism of Wisconsin that its Industrial Commission should yield in this fashion. It is possible that the Commission was swayed by a belief that the state would elect Walter Kohler governor and that the days of progressivism were over. The subsequent defeat of Kohler may therefore stiffen the backs of the commissioners and make them less ready to grant specific requests for such permission when they are made. The need for a twentieth amendment to the constitution which will make it possible for Congress directly to legislate in matters of labor legislation and social insurance is, moreover, again emphasized. For only national legislation can overcome the tendency of states to seek to attract or retain business by sacrificing decent legislation designed in the interests of the workers.

The Wreckage of Capitalism

Here are just a few lights on the human consequences of the depression: Samuel Galitzka, a Brooklyn realty operator, rated as a millionaire only a year ago, committed suicide and left this note: "Some men die for their country like heroes. I am dying because what little I have left in insurance and cash is just about sufficient to keep my wife for the rest of her days."

In the membership of one of the fashionable clubs of a Midwestern city there have been 34 suicides in the last 18 months. Perhaps one ought not to waste too much sympathy on these millionaires who cannot adjust themselves to a new situation when so many of the poor are starving. Nevertheless, it is rather pitiful that our civilization should have produced so many men "whose God is their belly," and who are completely lost without their riches. Many a capitalist is so constituted that if he receives a blow in the stomach, he has heart failure.

In a recently published letter of the late John Wendel, written in 1902 to his sister, we have anot aspect of the pathetic character of the rich man's look. The letter is in answer to one from Wend sister imploring him to come to the country for a v tion. He pleads that he must remain to fight a suit damages totaling $200 brought against him beca one of his servants failed to clean his sidewalk of sn during the winter. "The loss would mean not m than $200," he writes, "but fortunes are lost thro letting even such sums escape never to return. . . can not join you in the country and permit our fort to take wings." The fortune so amassed is now be fought over by several odd thousands of relativ mostly very distant.

In Cincinnati one Phillip Overstreet confessed v untarily to the robbery of 18 dollars. "I haven't h a job in two years," he said. "I lived off the charit but they didn't give us enough for our three small ch dren. I want to put myself straight with God a start all over again." Would that some men respo sible for the depression had as much sense of guilt.

Blessed Spinoza

The fame of Baruch Spinoza, born three hundr years ago on the 24th of November, is an amazi phenomenon. Born a Jew, Spinoza was driven fro the synagogue under ban of excommunication. H lived as an obscure garret-lodger in the homes humble folk in Dutch towns. He died in the 44th ye of his age, known only to his neighbors and a few d cerning minds. He left scarcely enough property pay his funeral expenses and an appraiser's fee. H wrote only four books, of which the greatest, t *Ethica,* was published after his death. Yet today is rated in the front rank among philosophers, "t monarch of the intellect." Indeed, his position in t history of human thought is one of almost unique a solitary grandeur. He stands not so much in relati to other men as complete within himself. Mo thinkers may be classified, like the stars, in a processi which moves from point to point in the firmament thought. But Spinoza shines like a central sun, and h rays illumine with undying splendor the whole vast un verse of reality.

His mind represented an almost miraculous blendin of the highest qualities of intellect and spirit. In th beginning, and at bottom, he was a rationalist, usin with unbending vigor the processes of reason. In th end, and at his best, he was a mystic, using the highe intuitions for the realization of the farthest truth. was this union of rationalism and mysticism, of min and spirit, which made Spinoza, and still makes hi one of those heretics who break with all tradition, onl to lay the more deeply and surely the foundations o belief. Like every true radical, he plowed the har surface of the ground, that he might penetrate th more surely to the roots of reality.

pinoza's fundamental thought was that of unity—unity of mind and matter, of soul and body, of God nature. He saw the universe as a single essence, *ubstantia.* This essence was a process—a reality nimate with life and vigor. And it moved, evolved, ording to unchanging laws which represented the anging will of the Divine. Such conception, of rse, ruled out all thought of God as a transcendent g apart from the cosmos. Hence the charge, not dead, that Spinoza was an atheist! But his real ught was of the Divine Spirit as coincident with all is. "I hold that God is the immanent, and not the aneous, cause of all things. I say, All is in God." saw the Absolute, in other words, in all things rela-, the Eternal in all things transient; and therewith, Renan declared, revealed "the truest vision ever had God."

His immortal service was to lay in the realm of pure llect those foundations of thought upon which the le edifice of modern thinking has been reared. Less- affirmed that "there is no other philosophy than t of Spinoza." Einstein has declared that the postu-s of contemporary science go back to him. A single ivided reality, moving as an evolving process under impulse of life and in harmony with law—this is picture of the cosmos. And it is the picture which noza conceived in its simple and fundamental ects. If religion and science are ever to be recon-d it must be on the basis of some such thought as t of the immortal philosopher of Amsterdam, for was his mind that built the structure of the latter d caught as well the visions of the former. Like erson, Spinoza must ever remain the friend of those o would dwell in the spirit.

urma Votes Against Britain

Verily, the way of the imperialist in these days is rd. Great Britain's latest set-back in her dealing th the Indian problem is the general election in rma. Burma, under the plans of the British, was to definitely separated from India and given a degree self-government all her own. The Simon Report 1930 outlined just such a proposal, and the British ve been going ahead on the assumption that there uld be no obstacle in the way which had to be taken ry seriously. Now, however, as the election returns ve trickled through since November 15, it has be-me apparent that the Burmese people have repudi-ed in unmistakable fashion the whole separatist argu-nt. Thirty-nine anti-separationists have been elected the provincial legislature, while nine of the new presentatives are neutral and 29 are out-and-out parationists. How serious a crimp this puts in the ns of the India Office will be clear when it is real-ed that the new Round Table Conference, like the t, has been taking it for granted in preliminary ar-ngements that the question of Burma was a closed book. The conference may still shun the issue; but shun it Britain herself cannot. She must either revise very drastically her entire scheme for granting constitutional privileges to India, so as to include Burma—an infinitely more elaborate and complicated task than it would seem upon the surface—or else plow straight ahead and impose a separatist status on an enormous discontented population.

Inspired dispatches from London and India attribute Burma's disaffection to misrepresentation by Indian rebels and propagandists; but if the British raj desires a more plausible reason, the government should look to the severe treatment it meted out last spring to the Burmese insurrectionists. This is not the first nor the last occasion when "bandits" have wreaked vengeance on their executioners through the persistent loyalty of the slowly articulate masses. It is hardly likely that the Burmese insurgents who relied on force and terror to oust the British had behind them at the time any appreciable body of Burmese opinion; but the British resort to "justice" untempered by mercy must have solidified radical rebellion in no slight degree. The imperialists in Whitehall are reported to be frankly "bewildered." If that is truly the prevailing mood, it may speedily pass, unless there is a reversal of *schrecklichkeit,* to consternation.

Those Inescapable War Debts

Despite persistent reports to the contrary, it is difficult to see how the Administration can honorably refuse to recommend the granting of the request of the British, French, and other former Allied governments for a postponement of the December 15th war debt payments and a general reconsideration of the intergovernmental debt structure. In proposing the so-called Hoover moratorium in June, 1931, the President declared that "the abnormal situation now existing in the world" must be taken into account, and that the United States must not "extract any sum beyond the capacity of any debtor to pay." Four months later, in the communique published at the close of the Hoover-Laval conversations, an even more definite commitment was made in the declaration that "prior to the expiration of the Hoover year of postponement, some agreement on intergovernmental debts may be necessary covering the period of the business depression. . . . The initiative in this matter should be taken early by the European powers principally concerned within the framework of the agreements existing prior to July 15, 1931." Since no one would seriously maintain that the business depression is less acute than it was a year ago, and in view of the fact that at Lausanne the European powers definitely wrote off more than nine-tenths of Germany's reparation burden, it would seem that Mr. Hoover, at least, has only one course open to him.

The two issues which have been raised, however,

can and probably should be considered separately. Having been decisively repudiated at the polls, it would be hazardous for the present Administration to attempt a final settlement of a problem with such explosive potentialities. In other words, there is much to be said for the contention that as far as the December 15th instalment is concerned, the question of payment or non-payment is more of a political than an economic problem. Yet while it could scarcely be maintained that the $19,260,000 owed by France or even the $95,550,000 owed by Great Britain would have disastrous effect on the delicate machinery of the international exchanges, it is probable that the collection of even this small sum would cost the United States far more than the amount obtained. If the mere rumor of Britain's payment was sufficient to depress the sterling exchange materially, it is likely that the assumption of the obligation would have a much more detrimental effect. A decline in sterling means a further lowering of world prices with all that that process entails. Moreover, it should be clearly recognized that the payment at this time of $125,000,000 to the United States from our European debtors means that there must be a corresponding reduction in the payments to the United States on all other accounts—the purchase of American commodities, interest on private debts, or the employment of American services—unless the United States on its part finds occasion to increase its consumption of foreign goods and services. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the last six months the United Kingdom's purchases from the United States were valued at approximately £44,000,000, while this country has bought only £8,750,000 worth of British goods, leaving an adverse balance for Britain of £35,000,000. The payment of the instalment due on the British debt would nearly double this adverse balance, and might lead to a serious drain on the Bank of England's gold reserve which would lead to a delay in the stabilization of the pound and have unfavorable repercussions in this country.

Regardless of what the United States does at the present juncture, the necessity for a thoroughgoing revision of our inter-Allied debt at the earliest practicable moment is so obvious that it hardly needs comment. There has scarcely been an important public statement during the past year regarding the world crisis which has not stressed the importance of an early and final solution of the debt problem. The Lausanne Settlement, removing the intolerable burden of reparations from Germany, was made conditional upon a "satisfactory settlement" of the debts to the United States. With the cessation of German reparation payments, it is certain that these debts cannot be collected in full. There has been no suggestion of either cancellation or default on these obligations, but there have been intimations that the European nations are anxious to make a settlement with the United States similar to that which they themselves effected at Lausanne in the matter of German reparations.

While there is something to be said for making a reduction of the debts contingent upon *quid pro quo* concessions on the part of the nations of Europe, it is little short of folly to talk of insisting upon the "expansion of markets for American agriculture and labor. If the debtors are unable to obtain the gold or foreign exchange to meet their war debt payments, they are going to be similarly unable to pay for increased American exports—unless we make a radical change in tariff and our general commercial policy. In other words it is of little avail to cancel one debt if another one of the same size is immediately substituted in its place. On the other hand, by linking the war debts with the tariff, Governor Roosevelt would seem to be approaching the problem realistically. If, as seems now to be a distinct possibility, the problem of intergovernmental debts is included in the agenda of the World Economic Conference along with the adequate consideration of tariffs, monetary problems and control of international financing, a sound solution might be obtained which would go far in restoring trade and prosperity throughout the world.

The Ohio Unemployment Insurance Bill

The most sensible and hopeful move which has been made by any state body in the direction of unemployment insurance is that contained in the report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment, headed by Professor William L. Leiserson of Antioch College. This commission not only comes out squarely for unemployment insurance but backs up its contention with arguments of irrefutable power. It has moreover drafted a bill which may well be a model for other states. Instead of allowing a complete decentralization of the insurance reserves, such as characterizes the Wisconsin act, with all the impairment of benefits which this necessarily entails, the Ohio group advocates a centralized state fund of the type which their Workmen's Compensation Law has made justly famous. They also advocate joint contributions from worker and employer, the former paying one per cent of his earnings and the latter two per cent of the total payroll. Such contributions by the workers seem to be desirable in order to ensure adequate benefits, to guarantee joint administration of the system and to guard against malingering. As a result, the benefits are not limited to a maximum of $10 a week, as in Wisconsin, but instead amount to one-half the normal earnings up to a maximum of $15, while the benefit period, instead of being ten weeks is to be sixteen weeks within the year. The proposal has had a warm welcome from the press and public opinion in Ohio seems favorable. There is distinctly more than an even chance that the bill will be passed, and if it does, there is every prospect that it will be widely copied by other states.

as Brailsford sees it

Ireland Revisited

ON my last visit to Ireland, more than a decade ak, a formidable fleet f transports, crowded h men in khaki, was iting in Holyhead harbour for the call to cross, and ks patrolled the streets of Dublin. Last week it s the scene of action in a tariff war that I surveyed. land governs herself, but under her own tricolour her Parliament is still conducting the war of libera- n, with bounties in place of bombs. In the streets, ncilled inscriptions on the walls incite the passer-by "boycott British goods"; shop windows appeal to n to "buy Irish"; bands of young enthusiasts oc- ionally visit the stores to stimulate their owners' triotism, while elaborate advertisements in the daily ss assure women that Irish robes and underwear are w what fashion demands. In spite of this economic r Dublin seemed a calmer city than I had ever own before. Perhaps, as some business men sug- sted, it was too depressed to generate excitement. riff wars do at once what wars of blood and iron only when the smoke and the glory have vanished: y make unemployment. I met a dejected proces- n of men parading their hunger behind a hedge of licemen, and for a moment I felt myself at home. ith such spectacles capitalism can cure the travel- s' homesickness in any city of this earth.

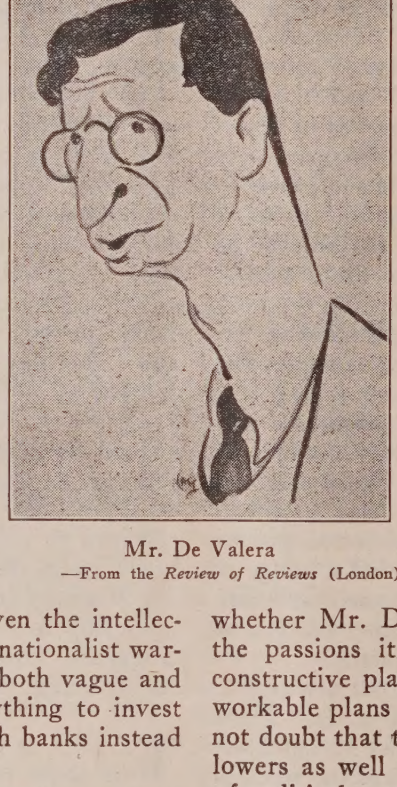
I found much that I expected to see: the newspapers not always lie. But one discovery I made. There behind this economic warfare a motive rather more nstructive than animosity based on ancient wrongs. hen I talked with Mr. De Valera's colleagues and llowers, I found that this quarrel with Great Brit- n is only an incident, though a very disturbing one, a long-range policy adopted on other grounds. They ve made up their minds that the present economic stem—if anarchy deserves that name—is rapidly mbling, and cannot mend itself. They believe that ernational trade can never be re-established on the rmer scale. If the British market for Irish cattle d butter is dwindling, Mr. Thomas's punitive tariff, ey argue, has only hastened an inevitable process. ey point to the British farmer who also is in de- air over the prices of livestock, and to their neigh- urs in Ulster who are calling for a moratorium for ir payments of land-annuities. Even from loyalists e unemployed of Lancashire do not buy fresh meat.

If then Ireland must adjust herself to a world slipping back into barbaric isolation, she must aim at self-sufficiency. Even at a heavy loss she must grow her own wheat. Her case, these enthusiasts argue, is enviable in comparison with England's. Poor though she may be, she can feed and clothe herself at need. Tariffs are encouraging the establishment of some new industries, though as yet they seem to be small-scale concerns—cement works, tanneries, a boot factory and little workshops for clothing and hosiery. Even the handicraft spinning and weaving of the primitive West has been stimulated. Ireland, so runs the argument, can adapt herself to the break-down of international capitalism, precisely because she has not yet entered the industrial age. She may jump over an entire period in her development, as Russia did, and leap forward into a new social order. What manner of civilization this will be I could not discover in any detail. The new industries fostered by the tariffs seemed to be small-scale capitalist concerns of the usual type, though they will be required to pay fair wages. The graziers, who are breaking up the pastures of Meath to raise wheat under a bounty instead of bullocks, stand in no new relationship to the land, the community or their hired labourers. None the less, there is a new enthusiasm for planning, though no one could show me the plans.

THERE is talk, which causes men's faces to glow, of some new type of Christian Socialism. Ireland, say the idealists, has a mission to lead the world towards the realisation of a more innocent and kindly society than this which goes to its wreck on debts and tariffs. To these hopes I listened, not without sympathy. But many doubts assailed me. That reconstruction is necessary, who can doubt? Emigration to America has ceased, and who can have confidence that it will ever be resumed? That alone has aggravated the chronic Irish problem of underemployment. The little holding rears its prolific family as of old, and nowhere is there an outlet for the peasants' younger sons. The little trades that sprout like mushrooms behind the tariff employ more women and children than men. For these cement and leather may offer more hope, and the raw material is abundant. To wheat Mr. De Valera looks, as Michael Davitt did to put men on

the land, rather than to bullocks. If this is done in the old way, it will be at a ruinous cost, but if it were done with tractors would it make much new employment? And how will a country which has thrown away the English market, and can find nowhere else in the world a demand for her butter and bacon, contrive to buy abroad the machinery which even small industries require? The only answer I could get was that the State may by bounties, albeit on a small scale, continue to export even in the face of prohibitive duties. This means dumping at a heavy loss, but it will result in credit overseas, with which machinery and other indispensable imports may be bought.

A DICTATOR, inspired by an unbending Russian will, might manage it. It is at the start in Mr. De Valera's favour that he can appeal to the smouldering historic memory of Imperial oppression. Ireland has been schooled by experience to endure much suffering and loss when her blood is fired by that motive. Whether this will suffice when the peasant farmer realises that he is being led into a new social order, is another question. In the former conflicts a whole race was united. Today a sharp and nearly even cleavage divides this country, which must, I think, harden on class lines. Against this headstrong idealist are all the conservative forces of the country, the larger farmers and graziers, the banks, commerce, and even the intellectuals, who do not respond to the ultra-nationalist war-cry and who find the new social order both vague and medieval. The classes who have anything to invest are said to be transferring it to British banks instead of placing it in new Irish industries.



Mr. De Valera
—From the *Review of Reviews* (London)

It is true that Ireland teems with wealth of a kind: seldom has a little country enjoyed such superabundance of food. But how shall it be distributed? The farmers do not know what to do with their bullocks and pigs, but from Donegal hunger-marchers have started for the capital. The farmers, in short, have everything but money. That has its inconveniences, alike for them and for the government. The village store keepers, tolerant enough of long accounts, are now ceasing to give credit. The county rates all over the Free State are now 90 per cent in arrears. One hears of a resort to barter: farmers will pay the doctor's bill with a few sacks of potatoes. Some farmers, desperate for cash, slaughter their beasts and hawk the meat at any price it will fetch in the streets of the nearest town.

The government, whatever may be said about th peculiarity of Irish economics, is up against the fa miliar world-wide problem of distributing real wealt to a hungry population that lacks cash. The most in telligent thing it has done is to start a daily distribu tion of free milk to all the legal poor of Dublin. I has also embarked on an ambitious housing progra which will in six years abolish Ireland's slums, bot urban and rural. Dublin has just raised by 25 pe cent the doles of the unemployed. Their numbe however, throughout Ireland, has been multiplied b three within the past year—an alarming increase, eve when it is explained that the regis ter is now compiled on a more ge erous plan.

Rarely have I tried to explore problem so difficult if one tries t analyse it, so obscure if one at tempts to foresee the future. confess myself biased against Mr De Valera, because I think he acte ill from the standpoint of interna tional morals and courtesy. He ha ready to his hand a good cas against the land annuities—the cas against every form of fixed deb when prices are falling ruinously But on that case he was too prou to take his stand: he would not go cap in hand, to a hated Empire Mr. Thomas, on his side, has use the economic bludgeon brutally, an his rejection of a foreign arbitrato seems to me indefensible. The mor interesting question, however, i whether Mr. De Valera can use this emergency an the passions it has aroused for a great effort o constructive planning. I doubt whether detailed an workable plans as yet exist. On the other hand, I d not doubt that this unusual man, who has devoted fo lowers as well as merciless critics, can keep his hol of political power for a considerable time. I ques tioned everyone I met, but no one dared to guess ho the electorate is divided, or how it will vote when a election—which no one wants—is eventually held Some good and impartial observers doubt whethe Mr. Cosgrave can ever return to power. Some ex pected the formation of a new Conservative Party Gossip turned uneasily round the chances of a *cou d'etat,* now from the Left, now from the Right. Noth ing is certain, unless it be that Ireland will not work t pattern.

H. N. Brailsford

London, November 8, 1932

Socialism's Bed-Rock

McALISTER COLEMAN

HE is a tight-lipped Scot, once a fighting Clydesider in the first Labor Government overseas, now a weaver in a New Jersey mill. At the se of our Socialist branch meeting the other night, rose wearily after hearing the speeches of comrades o were consoling themselves with the size of the ite-collar vote which we had garnered at the last ction, and said:

'Aye, we talk radical we do. But we have struck wn no roots."

Here to be sure was but another version of the oft-eated criticism of Socialist tactics in America, voiced those inside the Socialist Party and out since the rly days of Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party. d tragically enough it is as valid as ever after half a ntury of Socialist agitation. The bitter truth is that en after three black years of unparalleled suffering ong the masses, after a campaign waged with al-st unprecedented vigor and courage on the part of r Presidential candidate, socialism still remains a otless thing under the American sun. Obviously mething is radically wrong with a radical movement ich goes so haltingly when the tempo of everything e, politically, socially, ecomically is in such high gear.

"What's to do about it? What's to do about it?" as e radio singer asks these days. Shall we "just turn t the lights and go to sleep," as the same songster ad-ses, hoping for better luck from worse times in irty-six? Or shall we roll up our collective sleeves r a complete overhauling of our policies, programs d methods of approach? If we take the latter urse, we must needs act quickly to consolidate what ins we have made (for assuredly gains were made in e late unpleasantness in the increase in Socialist Party embership) and waste no time in vain lamentations r embittered post mortems. We want no repetition of e post-election recriminations that did so much to dis-pate the very real strength of the Left forces mus-red during the La Follette campaign.

So many problems, problems of organization, of ropaganda, of branch activities present themselves to ose resolved to carry on that they can be covered in one article. I shall endeavor here, writing, of urse, as an individual, and with no authoritarian pre-nsions, to suggest that paramount to all other matters lling for the immediate attention of thoughtful Socia-sts is the striking of our roots down among the rank nd file of the American workers. To an English or uropean radical the fact that such a suggestion should e made at this time might seem faintly absurd. We an hear our foreign visitor ask, "Do you not call your-selves the party of the workers?" and then go on to quote from a recent article by H. N. Brailsford in THE WORLD TOMORROW: "The present state of society can be radically altered only by a shift of power and a change in the ownership of the machines that are its basic fact. For that one must turn to those who have the least to lose from the hazard and the most to gain from the change." In short, turn to the workers. This is the very A B C of Socialism and yet I cannot escape the feeling that through some subtle shift of orientation, we are in danger of losing sight of our goal.

THERE is, I believe, urgent need in these days when so many converts unacquainted with Socialist history or background are coming into active membership, for re-emphasizing the fundamentals. These newcomers, if they are truly to serve the movement, must have very clearly in mind the grim realities of the class struggle and the Socialist role in that struggle. I would begin this job immediately and right at home by conducting classes in elementary socialism in every community where we have gained a foot-hold. Incidentally it would do none of us old-timers a bit of harm to brush up on our home work. There is an inexpensive and abundant literature on this subject ranging from the Little Blue Book series on socialism published by Haldeman-Julius at Girard, Kansas, to Harry Laidler's splendid history of socialism. Evidently before we sally forth to woo labor anew we must know something of former approaches to that coy dame. Nathan Fine's book, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928,* published by the Rand School, New York, is enlightening in its discussion of the tactics used by labor's old suitors. For a study of present trends in the labor movement, *Our Labor Movement Today,* by Katherine H. Pollak, a Brookwood Labor Pamphlet, published at Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., is invaluable.

At the last national convention of the party at Milwaukee the proposal to establish a national labor committee within the party, whose functions would consist in keeping organizers in the field (with the principal object of getting the unorganized into trade unions) and in furnishing unions with strike relief, legal and publicity aid, etc., was discussed. Other issues, however, pushed this important proposal into the background. It should be acted upon at once. We must have our machinery ready even though at first the matter of its financial lubrication presents serious difficulties. Serious, but not, in my opinion, insurmountable. Funds have a way of following activity. The financing of a

well thought out industrial program is still possible even in this depression year. That the need is there no one conversant with the labor movement of today can possibly question. In one industry after another, notably automotives, radios, aeroplanes, and textiles there is crying need for competent men and women to undertake the ground work of trade union organization. Unless, indeed, that ground work is laid soon there is every indication that the entire structure of unionism in America may fall under the ferocious assaults which are being made upon it today.

Instantly in this connection there arises the vexed question of the Socialist attitude toward trade unionism, a perennial subject for debate in party councils since the turn of the century. While there are many who still contend that our present attitude of what might be called "benevolent neutrality" is in truth an official policy, every historian of the movement knows that at one time or another socialist trade union policies have assumed a bewildering variety of shapes, going all the way from the industrial unionism of our I. W. W. flirtations to acceptance of the conservative American Federation of Labor "business unionism". And the blunt fact remains that benevolent neutrality is no policy at all but rather a surrender to inertia.

OPPONENTS of the formation of some sort of national industrial boards within the party have maintained that such action will create hostility towards the Socialists on the part of trade union leaders. Dark references are made to Daniel De Leon's ill-fated attempt to "bore from within" the trade unions of his day, an attempt which roused the implacable ire of Sam Gompers and did much to make a Socialist *persona non grata* in the world of unionism. For my part, I see no parallel between our present situation and that which confronted the testy leader of the party in the 'Nineties. There is certainly no desire on the part of those supporting a labor committee to "capture" the unions by maneuvering Socialists into their executive boards, which was the De Leon tactic. The organization of exploited men and women into unions of their own choosing would seem to be as much the task of serious Socialists as the setting up of street meetings or the distribution of literature.

Suppose that at the next meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, it is decided to establish such a labor committee as has been suggested, what would be the first undertaking upon which this committee would embark? Evidently a survey made at first hand of the situation in unorganized industries would be in order. This might cover previous attempts at organizing the workers and the reasons for successes or failures in other days, the present technological or engineering set-up, numbers of workers who can be productively employed, current hours and wages, job analyses, work habits and their effects on workers' psychology, seasonal work, workers' use of leisure—a comprehensive picture, in short, of any industry where there is need for intensive organization work. Armed with such factual weapons, our organizers could then go into the field with something more than the usual agitational bombast. The interest of workers may be captured for a long-viewed program of social change only as they feel that those offering this program understand the immediate bread and butter necessities. All too often we have sent, with the best of intentions, our people into industrial situations where their ignorance of every-day details has betrayed them to the workers. All too often radicals have contented themselves with vague and windy summons to revolt where it should have been evident from the beginning that revolt was doomed to failure. The outcome of course has been the alienation of the worker and a more difficult task for the succeeding organizers. To know when to strike is as important as to know how to strike.

BUT what about personnel? Have we within the party enough men and women willing to make the sacrifices which are the inevitable lot of the responsible labor organizer? On this score I maintain that we have every reason to believe that among our rank and file plenty of human material will be found. The recent work, for example, of those two valiant young spirits, Amicus Most and Murray Barron, in the coal fields of West Virginia and Illinois is indication of the sort of service which Socialists can render labor. We need a hundred more Mosts and Barrons backed up by an energetic committee. All across the country today there are youngsters asking how they can devote their time and energy to the building of a labor movement that will in the long run be concerned with something more than hours and wages. It should be the business of Socialists to give definite answer to that questioning. Surely by this time we should have learned our lesson that it is not enough to appear before the workers a few short months before election with pleas for their votes on the ground that we are their only political party. When they have seen us standing shoulder to shoulder with them in their daily struggles, that sight is more likely to convince them of our sincerity than any number of promissory orations. Far better to depend for support upon actual performance on picket lines, in relief stations, at organization meetings than to put our entire batch of Socialist eggs into the one basket of politics. Always the party has received its most wholehearted response from the workers when its members were engaged in industrial activities.

The carrying out of an activist trade union program such as is here outlined would, I believe, put new fires under the boilers of every branch in the country. There would be a reason for attending branch meetings which is not always now evident. Reports and

ommendations of the labor committee would sug- t ways and means for pressing industrial activities the various localities. A vast amount of educational terial could be put at the disposal of Socialist mem- s through the research work done by the national mmittee. Our rank and file would be brought closer the realities of a well-rounded Socialist life. The product of a thoughtful industrial program are enor- us. They involve cultural activities, journalistic erprises, work among the Negroes, collaboration h organizations already at work in the field of labor ucation, mass demonstration, unemployed councils— mention but a few.

Heywood Broun the other day complained in his column that while a number of critics urged that the Socialists should become more "militant," no one would define militancy for him. He wondered if by militancy was meant the prodding of policemen's horses by exuberant Communist youths. Well, Heywood, by militancy I, at any rate, mean going to the workers with concrete evidence of our alliance with their cause. I mean living out our socialism where the struggle is hottest. I mean that the time has come to take up the challenge of our Clydesider comrade and get to work at the difficult, often dangerous, but altogether essential job of striking down our roots where they belong—in the hearts and minds of the working masses.

Light On America's Wars

ARNOLD TILDEN

THE War of 1812, the "Second American Revolution," was fought to protect American shipping on the high seas, to prevent the further pressment of American seamen into the British navy, prevent illegal seizure and confiscation of American goes under the arbitrary contraband provisions of e British government. Or is this merely the history- ok fairy-tale that hides the real reasons?

Said Henry Clay at the time: "It is said, however, at no object is obtainable by war with Great Brit- n. . . . The conquest of Canada is in your power. I ust I shall not be deemed presumptuous when I state at I verily believe that the militia of Kentucky alone competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at ur feet. Is it nothing to acquire the entire fur-trade nnected with that country?" This was the desired d of the war as expressed by the leader of the war rty. "I shall never die content," said Richard John- n, another Kentuckian, "until I see her [Great Brit- n's] expulsion from North America and her territo- es incorporated with the United States. . . . The aters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi inter- ck in a number of places, and the Great Disposer of uman Events intended those two rivers should belong the same people."

John Randolph, of Virginia, attempted to warn his ethren, but to no avail. "If you go to war," he ex- aimed, "it will not be for the protection or defence your maritime rights. Gentlemen from the North ve been taken up into some high mountain and shown l the kingdoms of the earth; and Canada seems mpting in their sight. . . . Agrarian cupidity, not aritime right, urges the war. . . ." The War of 1812 was a blunder. "It was unnecessary, impolitic, untimely, and rash," says Professor Muzzey of Columbia University.

The annexation of Texas brought with it a serious boundary question and the ill-feeling of Mexico. The situation was seized as an opportunity for further expansion, and the new President, James K. Polk, attempted to enter into negotiations for the purchase from Mexico of the disputed territory plus California, Arizona and New Mexico as well. The fact that Mexico did not wish to sell did not deter him at all. When the negotiations for purchase fell through, owing to Mexican public opinion which refused to countenance a sale, Polk prepared a message for Congress, advocating war and conquest on the absurd grounds that the government of Mexico had refused to receive John Sidell, the emissary sent by Polk to purchase New Mexico.

But that evening, news came which enabled the President to put the cause of war before the country in its most appealing light. General Taylor, who had been ordered into Mexico some time earlier, had just occupied the disputed territory, an occupation that had been contested by the Mexicans. When news of this encounter reached Washington, Polk was able to declare (May 11) that Mexico had "shed American blood on American soil. . . . War exists, and notwithstanding our efforts to avoid it, exists by act of Mexico herself." Two days later he told his Cabinet that "in making peace with our adversaries, we shall acquire California, New Mexico, and other further territory. . . ." The United States wanted more territory; the United States took more territory.

THE war was popular in the South, but in the North it was declared unconstitutional, aggressive, and a plot of the slave interests. Abraham Lincoln, in a speech in Congress on January 12, 1848, accused Polk of the deliberate invasion of Mexico in an unconstitutional manner for the sake of gaining territory. In New England, James R. Lowell was writing:

> Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
> There you hev it plain and flat;
> I don't want to go no furder
> Than my Testament fer that.

And this war, the handiwork of land-hungry expansionists, was but the first act of that later war that was to split the Union and leave for all time an ugly, unhealing scar. In the spring of 1861, ten states, later followed by Virginia, found it "necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them. . . ." The South no longer felt that the Union could or would protect their property and institutions, and believing that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," they resolved, under the right of self-determination, to seek safety and prosperity from without the Union.

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is the right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit." How quickly Lincoln forgot these words which he had uttered in the halls of Congress on January 12, 1848!

THE North in general was not antagonistic toward Southern secession. "If the cotton states shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it," wrote Horace Greeley in the New York *Tribune,* "we insist on letting them go in peace. We hope never to live in a republic where one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." In like vein, a national convention of workingmen assembled at Philadelphia in February of '61, resolved that "our government never can be sustained by bloodshed but must live in the affections of the people; we are, therefore, utterly opposed to any measures that will evoke civil war." Winfield Scott, general of the army, was for letting "the wayward sisters depart in peace." Henry Ward Beecher said "in so far as the free states are concerned, I hold that it will be an advantage for the South to go off."

This sentiment in the North, if the statements of prominent men and newspaper accounts may be believed, was well nigh overwhelming. An actual encounter, bloodshed, was necessary to mold a public opinion that would support a war of coercion. Who was to inaugurate such an engagement? This, Lincoln, against the advice of half of his Cabinet and his general of the army, undertook. By sending men and provisions to Fort Sumter he precipitated the Civil War.

THE echoes of the Civil War had hardly died when a new development appeared in the United States that was to lead surely and quickly to another war. The Cuban question had long been one that aroused intense interest in the United States. As early as 1810 Jefferson expressed hopes of possessing Cuba, and a few years later John Quincy Adams asserted that there were laws of political gravitation which would inevitably draw it toward the American Union. Various attempts were made to annex Cuba to the United States, both by purchase from Spain and by force through filibustering expeditions. In 1854 the famous Ostend Manifesto, drawn up by John Y. Mason American Minister to France, and James Buchanan American Minister to England, asserted that if Spain would not sell Cuba, "Then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain. . . ."

In 1895 a serious revolution occurred in Cuba. This revolution was the direct result of a serious business depression and its accompanying unemployment, caused by the placing of a high duty upon sugar by the United States. Following the passage of this tariff (The Wilson tariff of 1894), Cuban exports of sugar declined 50 per cent, and the business dislocation, which in America is called the period of readjustment, means men out of jobs, which in South and Central America as the past two years have so conclusively shown means revolution. The Spaniards attempted to crush the revolt, and owing to the guerrilla nature that it assumed, an excessively brutal policy was pursued.

At this time there appeared on the stage two new actors in the drama. Mr. Hearst and Mr. Pulitzer our great newspaper tycoons, seemed to vie with one another in the attempt to write the most lurid headlines and the most sensational stories.

Shortly after the beginning of the rebellion the United States attempted to mediate and in every way tried to alleviate the sufferings of the Cubans. Other countries also entered into negotiations with Spain and finally the Pope himself. On March 27, 1898 the United States enumerated its demands to Spain intimating that unless they were acceded to we would forcibly intervene in Cuba. On March 31 the Spanish government yielded in part and on April 3 the American Ambassador to Spain cabled that "I will get peace in Cuba, with justice to Cuba and protection of our

Great American interests." Three days later the Washington representatves of England, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy made a joint appeal to the President, in the name of humanity, to continue peaceful negotiations. On the same day the American Ambassador to Spain had cabled, "I believe that this means peace, which the sober judgment of our people will approve long before November [the date of the next election] and which must be approved at the bar of final history." On April 10 he cabled that the American demands had been accepted and that the negotiations would result in Cuba's autonomy, independence, or cession to America, according to our wishes. On April 11 President McKinley sent his message to Congress, recommending steps that produced war. *War was declared after every demand of our government had been acceded to, when there was no necessity and no reason for war.* It was the result of "yellow journalism" and dirty politics.

FOLLOWING the war, we found ourselves nominally in possession of the Philippine Islands, inhabited by a people that had fought side by side with the Americans during the war, hoping to realize their independence from Spain. But, according to Senator Beveridge and the Republican Party, the islands were valuable and must belong to the United States. To satisfy this desire the American army was turned against its former allies, and a war of extermination began. The Spanish *reconcentración* policy, to which the Americans had objected so strenuously when it was being used in Cuba, was adopted. Unspeakable tortures were used to obtain information from captured natives. According to the testimonies of eyewitnesses, women and children were wantonly murdered by American soldiers. (Congressional Record v. 35, pp. 5701-74 and 5164-5213.)

The World War is too recent to require any extensive comment. It need only be said that the youth of America gladly and willingly gave their lives in the hope that the world might be bettered. That they were cheated and lied to, no one now knows better than they. Instead of being a war to end war, it created ill-feeling and hatreds, misunderstandings that have led to many small wars since 1918. Instead of making the world safe for democracy, it merely made it safe for imperialism. England, France, Japan and the other nations were able to enlarge their empires and force yet more people to acknowledge their authority. Instead of making America a finer place in which to live, it created more inequalities, more selfishness.

Of these five wars, none received the whole-hearted support of the people of the United States. All created sectional ill-feeling and led to talk and, in some cases, action towards dissolving the Union. The War of 1812 was waged for the acquisition of Canada, not to protect American maritime rights. The Mexican War was waged to acquire territory, not to avenge the murder of innocent Americans. The Civil War was precipitated not by the pooled wisdom of the leaders of the nation, but by misguided fanatics. The Spanish-American War was wantonly precipitated after the alleged reasons for it had been removed. The World War, instead of making the world safe for democracy, made the world safe only for economic imperialism.

Religion Is Revolutionary!

EDWARD L. ISRAEL

THE question may be asked with great justification: Is the growing interest of organized religion in social problems a sincere movement devoid of ulterior motive, or is it simply a defensive effort to preserve and give content to itself in an otherwise religiously bankrupt age? A strong circumstantial case can be made against the purity of the motives of the churches. As a rule, organized religion practically ignored the isolated few within its ranks who challenged the cause of social justice throughout the greater part of the nineteenth centry. For that matter, the organized church has always either ignored or persecuted these few. It is only within comparatively recent years, when social reform has become somewhat more popular and when outstanding Socialists appear occasionally on the programs of conservative women's clubs or men's service organizations, that religion has begun to manifest any pronounced signs of awakened social interest.

There is, however, a sound argument in defense of the slowness with which organized religion is achieving economic radicalism. We must not lose sight of the fact that through some strange caprice of history the Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution went almost hand in hand. The former followed the latter by only a few years. Organized religion *does* move slowly. Not even its most ardent friends will gainsay this. Its slow-moving quality is not an unmixed vice. Stability of thought and belief is at times a virtue—although I grant that the churches have often carried stability to the point of blind obstinacy. The long centuries of Christian civilization up to the invention of the power machine had emphasized charity as the highest of virtues, and despite all its short-

comings, the church had played a great role in the exercise of this virtue. The Industrial Revolution ushered in the need for a new moral order in which charity had to give way to the ancient prophetic ideals of social justice.

Before slow-moving organized religion had had a chance to adjust itself to changed conditions—except for a few of its leaders—it was thrown into the great theological controversies brought on by the nineteenth century geologists and naturalists. The blazing fires of Darwinism were held in the religious world to be the flames of a dreadful hellfire. All imperative adjustments to the new moves caused by economic considerations became almost lost in what was regarded as the supreme struggle of religious history, the defense of fundamentalist theology against the onslaughts of atheistic or agnostic science. Every other consideration gave way as the churches rallied to the defense of the literal revelation of Scriptures. The chances are that the most analytical scientist in the realm of preventive medicine, experimenting cooly and calmly with an infantile paralysis treatment, would become extremely agitated and incapable of all constructive thought were he told that his only child was stricken with the disease. So the churches lost sight of social issues in the face of the devastating onslaughts of science. Their supposed dearest possession was menaced. All else was made to give way. There were rare exceptions in that a few religious leaders kept their mind's eye on the subject of social reform rather than theological conflict. The majority, however, were in a panic and the incipient growth of socialized religion was strongly arrested. However, even slow-moving religious thought adapts itself in time. Theological modernism was evolved. This gave the opportunity to religious leaders to renew the interrupted process of socialization. I feel that it is because the liberal elements of organized religion have recovered from their fright of the Scientific Revolution within the past 30 years or so that we have had an increasingly intense emphasis on social problems.

I do not feel that the charge that socialized religion is merely a forlorn effort to preserve organized religion is at all justified. This is the truth of the matter: the Scientific Revolution destroyed for religious liberals the superstitious overgrowth that encumbered the structure of religious thought so that they are now better able to see the real essence of what constitutes the religious life. The Scientific Revolution robbed them of their theological "dope". They are therefore able to recognize that if religion is to survive at all, it must get down to the basic truths of social relations which are its prime content. The reactionaries still abound. Indeed, they are probably still in the majority, fighting the theological battles of a bygone age. But Amos and Jeremiah were also of the minority; yet they plotted the course of progress as socialized religion is doing today.

ANOTHER natural question which we must ask ourselves is this: "Granted that the Scientific Revolution delayed the development of socialized religion and the drift toward radicalism, hasn't the secular procession moved so far ahead that religion is left out in the cold?" I admit that there is some danger of this sort. I have no doubt that many radical leaders who are not at all unkindly disposed toward religion feel nevertheless, that it took us such a long time to make up our minds to be social radicals that we are following the procession rather than leading it. And a religious philosophy which fails to lead may as well close up shop. The leaders in the secular fields of economic radicalism point out with great emphasis the fact that it is still a minority of religious leaders who espouse the cause of economic radicalism and that most of the religious laymen are not in sympathy with these radical movements. On this basis, they question the value of radical socialized religion. This is part and parcel of the same logical fallacy whereby some of our Communist brethren damn democracy simply because the majority of the American people functioning under a democratic government will not vote the Communist ticket. The truth is that, despite the fact that the radical-minded religious leaders may constitute an actual minority, they have demonstrated sufficient strength among numerous denominations to make religious organizations the most rapidly moving bodies of our modern life in the sphere of attitudes toward social reform. There is no civic, political or social group which has progressed as rapidly as organized religious bodies in the last 30 years or so in the formulation of declarations upholding pacifism and socialistic principles.

I think that a death battle is going to be fought within the ranks of organized religions between progressive radicalism and reaction; and we have every reason to feel, from present indications, that that battle is going to be won by the radical forces. The Scientific Revolution has destroyed religion in the form of an awesome kowtowing before a mysterious and all-powerful deity. The masses are losing their superstitions even where they are not accepting religious socialization. They are losing the only religion they know. Religion may possibly cease to be the blindly accepted possession of the majority and come to be the cherished philosophy of a comparatively few. It will be intellectually and socially radical. It will tend, more and more, not only to catch up with but to outstrip the progressive bandwagon which may have passed it during the nineteenth century. I speak, of course, of the religion of the prophets of Israel and of Jesus. What the conservative masses will adopt to supply themselves with a new cult, I cannot forecast. They may accept the challenge and follow in line with the radical program implied in prophetic religion. On the other hand they may, under the leadership of some charlatans

dopt some form of hocus pocus to supplant that which hey have lost.

WHAT has religion to do with radical social change? Consider the social laws of the Pentateuch, the safeguarding of life over property, the almost communistic legislation of the Jubilee Year, the social teachings of the prophets of Israel and of Jesus. Each one of these thoughts, in its age, advocated radical social change. The historical spirit of prophetic religion is radicalism. No intelligent person would dare to state that we must judge religion simply by the specific words of its prophetic souls in their own day. We have a right to ask what an Amos or a Jesus would say today. We have every right to infer that as they were radicals, socially, in their day, so they would be radicals, socially, today.

When we inquire why a revolutionist should bother with religion, we come to a somewhat more difficult query. You may recall that we asked, "What, if any, are the unique contributions that religion in its radical manifestations has to make to the efforts to fight our way on toward an era of social justice?" It is obviously true that it is perfectly possible to be a radical without religion. In fact, most radicals insist that religion is an obstacle rather than an aid to a revolutionary attitude. There is no favorable answer to this question as to why a revolutionist should bother with religion, if the individual is what we might term a static revolutionist." If he is interested simply in a concrete objective, a static achievement, he is far better off without religion. Religion in its finest sense is the most dynamic thing in the world. It is terribly upsetting to a formalist. Were not all the greatest religious leaders anti-formulists?

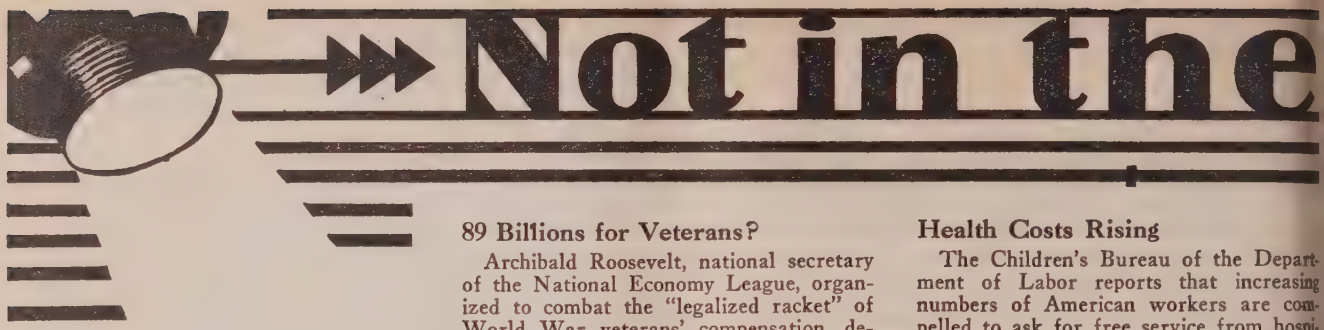
LET us take a concrete example. Here is an individual interested solely in the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has no other moral approach to life. He believes that whatever the proletariat decides is the last word in justice and righteousness. It is entirely possible that revolutionary religion may, at many junctures, work hand in hand with such an individual. This would be particularly true where the proletariat is being oppressed. Then, religion would be the radical advocate of the overthrow of the existing order to bring the proletariat to its rights. Religion could never agree, however, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is unqualifiedly just, and the utmost in social idealism. There are certain inalienable human rights which are the common property of all men. These cannot be violated by any group. Radical religion, today, is emphatically sympathetic with Soviet Russia along the lines of general principles, despite Soviet Russia's antireligious attitude. Radical religion, however, cannot condone certain types of oppression that were inflicted upon former capitalists, members of the nobility or dissenting Communists under the civil laws of Soviet Russia. We may understand how, amid revolutionary hysteria, these extravagances inevitably occur. They cannot, however, be condoned by religion in the finest ethical sense.

The sum total of it all is that radical religion is incurably revolutionary. If it had functioned properly under the Czarist government, it should have been the leading revolutionary force in advocating the overthrow of that despicable political and economic order. If it is able to become vocal at all in Soviet Russia, it will challenge the oppression of the Soviet government, as well as commend the humanitarian advances. The great tragedy is that organized religion in Czarist Russia was the ally of reaction. Its opportunity to speak in terms of social righteousness under the new order is, therefore, practically nil.

Radical religion upholds a principle of social idealism. The tendency of all existing orders or social philosophies is to become static and dogmatic. Radical religion is the eternal ferment which prevents any social or economic order from becoming satisfied with itself. It is the one force that can prevent the revolutionary of today from becoming the reactionary of tomorrow. It has a social theory and idealism rather than a concrete economic panacea. It trades in specific economic and social projects simply because it is by means of these tangible projects that the constantly expanding goals of religious idealism are successively realized.

The truly dynamic revolutionary must be religious. It is the only thing that can give harmony and sequence to his philosophy of life. It is the only thing that can keep him eternally a revolutionary. It is the only thing that can give meaning to his striving for humanity. Faith in a cosmic unity is the only safeguard against dictatorial arrogance on the one hand and cynical despair on the other.

Today we advocate pacifism, the abolition of the profit system and the more practical realization of democracy. We advocate these salient points because humanity is cursed specifically by war, by economic exploitation and by a throttling of the freedom of the individual in political and civil expression. Tomorrow it may be an entirely different set of social evils which will distort humankind. Radical religion will change its set of concrete goals. Its guiding principle of a striving for full human expression will remain. The static revolutionary might be satisfied with the realization of a pacifist, socialistic society. His end has been achieved. Radical religion is never satisfied. It puts eternal unrest into the hearts of men. It holds up before mankind not a thing but a vision. At each moment it supports that thing which seems nearest the vision, but when the momentary thing is realized, it turns toward the next thing that has been disclosed—a social idealism that our previous shortsightedness never could envision.



Fascist Achievements in Italy

If Mussolini has made the trains run on time in Italy, he has also done other things. George Seldes makes a list of other Fascist "achievements": Abolition of parliament; abolition of the constitutional power of the king; abolition of the non-Fascist press; abolition of the right of public association, Freemasonry, etc.; abolition of free suffrage; abolition of freedom of the magistrates; abolition of free speech; abolition of independent courts; abolition of inviolability of private homes; abolition of the right to choose a business or profession; abolition of the right of free movement (emigration or migration within the country); curtailment of the liberty of conscience and religion; abolition of the right to choose nationality; abolition of guarantee against unjust taxes; suppression of all municipal liberties.

Oberlin Students Force Law Change

Because six students of Oberlin College demanded a jury trial when arrested for holding an open-air meeting in Lorain, Ohio, to promote the Socialist campaign, they were released. The city stated that it did not have the funds with which to pay jurors. Following this incident, the City Council changed the ordinance covering street meetings to eliminate the jail sentence formerly provided. By setting the penalty at a fine only, defendants can no longer force the city to the expense of a jury trial.

Men of the Soil

The International Landworkers' Federation reports increases in membership in its affiliated agricultural workers unions in Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Austria, though membership has declined in Germany on account of decreased cash wages and in Poland and Scotland on account of unemployment.

Coöperative Credit Union Booming

Organized a little more than six months ago, the Coöperators' Credit Union of Superior, Wisconsin, reports deposits and membership capital subscriptions of more than $1,000. Members with one or more fully paid shares of $5.00 each number 50, with partial subscriptions payable in small weekly installments by 15 persons. The funds are actively meeting small loan needs of the members at low rates of interest.

89 Billions for Veterans?

Archibald Roosevelt, national secretary of the National Economy League, organized to combat the "legalized racket" of World War veterans' compensation, declared in a recent address, "We are still supporting seven widows of the War of 1812. It is calculated that the last [World War] veteran will die about 2015, and by that time the total cost of the veterans to the United States will be $89,000,000,000. The war cost $21,000,000,000. It would have been cheaper to be licked."

A Nation of Tenants

The Census Bureau reports that more than 50 per cent of America's 22,854,935 non-farm families were renting their homes in 1930. The largest number of families paid a rental between $30 and $50 a month. Among home owners, the largest number had homes valued from $3,000 to $5,000.

Coöperative Radical Library

Through Dr. Thomas P. Welch a coöperative library along radical lines of thought has been formed in Chicago with headquarters at 2645 Potomac Avenue. Books are rented at three cents a day or 25 cents a week, delivered and called for.

How Tariffs Work

A city commission of investigation in Nice, France, has blamed the high cost of living along the Riviera to the French import quota system. The price of foodstuffs has risen 100 per cent since the quotas were enforced.

Roy Burt Faces Trial

Arrested for displaying placards before the Chicago *Tribune* tower, the Reverend Roy Burt, Socialist candidate for Governor of Illinois, will be tried for disorderly conduct, it is expected, according to an announcement by the Federated Press. The placards protested against the editorial, "The Right to Alms", printed by the *Tribune* a few days before. The editorial maintained that no human being was entitled to food and shelter just because he could not get a job, but that the solvent members of the community, merely out of the kindness of their hearts, might give him a handout as charity. "The recipients of unemployment relief are objects of charity," the *Tribune* bluntly said. "They are on the county. For one reason or another they have failed to make the grade. In Russia at least the proletariat takes the responsibility as well as the gravy, if any. Here they want the gravy without the responsibility."

Health Costs Rising

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor reports that increasing numbers of American workers are compelled to ask for free service from hospitals and visiting nurse associations. Ten cities report an increase from 3,691,847 days' hospital care in 1929, to 3,799,123 in 1931.

U. S. Job Program a Myth

The drop in building from August, 1931, to August, 1932, is 71 per cent. The Federal government's construction program dropped 58 per cent during the same period.

Relief Expenditures Doubled

Relief expenditures throughout the nation rose 103 per cent since August, 1931, according to reports from 960 agencies in 125 cities. The monthly relief bill reported by these agencies is $22,448,743.

Sweatshops in Cleveland

Sweatshop conditions as bad as any recorded in the history of American labor, according to the Federated Press, have been disclosed in Cleveland at a conference called recently by the Consumers' League. Women and girls were reported as working a ten- and twelve-hour day, cutting knit dresses at one cent per dozen, in order to earn a daily 60 cents. Wages in millinery and other needle trades were reported as equally bad; 70 cents is the wage of many millinery workers for a day's labor. In the ladies' garment trade, wages, it was stated, have dropped from a weekly minimum of $32.00 to a weekly average of $3.00 to $15.00. These figures, moreover, are hardly indicative of the real changes, since the working week has increased from 42 to 58 and even 60 hours.

The Government Enters Business

The *United States Daily* reports that the total amount loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from February 2, 1932, up to the end of October is $1,397,596,033. Of this amount $253,537,052 has already been repaid.

Seattle's Way Out

In Seattle the unemployed have organized the Seattle's Unemployed Citizens League. This association operates shoe repair shops; makes, remodels and repairs clothing, gives free shaves and haircuts, cuts firewood, tills municipal gardens, and in this way manages to tide its members over the depression. About 50,000 people are being helped by this organization.

Headlines

he Binghams Disagree

Alfred Mitchell Bingham, son of the nservative, high-tariff Senator Hiram ngham who was recently defeated for election in the State of Connecticut, has nounced his plans for the launching of a w radical magazine, which will appear the stands on December 1 under the le of "Common Sense". It is the aim the editors to appeal to the average izen with socialistic and communistic ctrines translated into American terms. he journal will contain no advertising, hich Mr. Bingham regards as the "most rrupt influence in modern life." "This agazine is not attacking the system," says e new editor, "for the system itself is mbling."

hinese Boycotts

Since 1905 the Chinese have engaged in elve boycotts. One of these was ainst the United States, one against Eng- nd, and the other ten against Japan. uring the boycotts against Japan in 1919, 25, and 1928 trade with that country tually expanded.

echnological Unemployment

The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and on Company has put into use its $5,000,- 0 super-breaker which throws a thou- nd workers permanently out of jobs.

ocialist Organization

The Socialist Party emerged from the mpaign with a report showing that be- een January 1, 1932, and election day, ore than 600 new locals of the Party had en organized.

anada to Bar American lot Air Currents

The Canadian government has ap- inted a commission to devise a scheme hereby Canadian radio listeners in 1936 ill be spared the affliction of another nerican political campaign. The cease- ss flow of oratory emanating from the cent battle impelled our neighbors to the orth to take steps four years in advance prevent a recurrence.

imes Do Change

Margaret Sanger, famed authority on rth control, will address the parley on Marriage" to be held by students at esleyan University, Middletown, Con- cticut, on December 8 and 9. Other eakers will be Professor Erdman Har- s, of Union Theological Seminary, New ork; Gladys H. Groves, co-author of *x in Marriage;* and Father John M. ooper of Catholic University.

Negro Relief

A widespread movement throughout the South to discriminate against Negroes in the distribution of free government flour to the needy is reported to the American Red Cross. It is charged that before colored people are given the free government flour they are obliged to work a day for the county, and are "insulted, threatened, and otherwise mistreated before being served."

Call Out the Patrioteers!

The government of the Panama Canal Zone is one of the most remarkable demonstrations of practical socialism on record. In the narrow strip of American soil which extends from Atlantic to Pacific along the canal, the United States operates under Governor Harry Burgess one of the most prosperous industries and successful governments in the world. It maintains not merely docks, warehouses, coaling stations, oil tanks and coal storage plants to supply ships passing through the canal, but it runs its own printing presses, buys and sells cattle, and operates a railroad and a steamship line to New York. It maintains a dairy herd of 634 pure-bred Holsteins. It owns and operates the Tivoli and Washington Hotels. It even rents electric clocks to private individuals, the profit from this and the canal telephone and electric printer telegraph machines amounting to $46,194.71 in 1931. The United States is in business competing with Panaman merchants. — *From More Merry-Go-Round.*

The Red Jitters

In Southern California, noted for its Red Squad division of the Los Angeles police and its manifold anti-Red laws, a new method has been found to "save the country". A lurid black and yellow circular was found on a telephone pole with the inscription: "Communism will not be tolerated. Ku Klux Klan rides again."

Edmonton Labor Gains

At the civic election of November 9 in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, the Labor Party returned to office Mayor D. K. Knott with a doubled majority; sent Alderman C. L. Gibbs to the City Council leading the ballot; elected James East to the Board of Aldermen; and placed S. A. G. Barnes on the School Board. Labor now has five members on the City Council, which, with the Mayor a Laborite, gives Labor a majority.

Peace Literature Suppressed In Chicago

Police stopped the distribution of anti-war literature in Chicago by three of the numerous members of the Young Peoples Socialist League engaged in that work on Armistice Day. Harry Litz, Beatrice Rosenweig, and Francis Aronson were taken to the police station and later released with instructions to "go home."

Hunger Makes Soldiers

Hundreds of young Austrians are being propelled into the military life by force of economic circumstances. The Associated Press reports that long lines stood in the shivering cold throughout the night in front of Rossauer Barracks, waiting for a chance to enlist. Recruits in Austria must sign up for 12 years.

Schurman for Philippine Independence

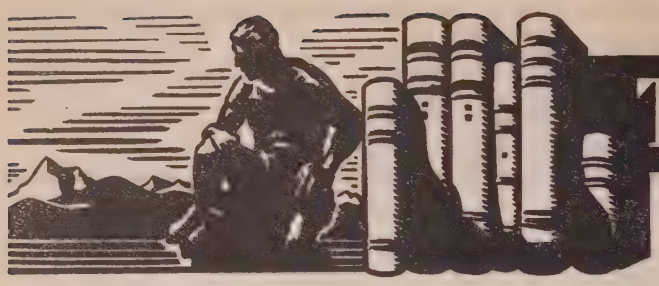
Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, former ambassador to Germany, advocated in a recent radio address that the United States grant the Filipinos complete independence as a measure of protection for the American farmer against Philippine products and for the American workingman against the competition of Philippine labor in this country.

Labor Gains in Denmark

For the first time in European history a Labor government has increased its majority after four years in office. In the election of November 16 the Labor Party won 62 seats and increased its popular vote by 70,000.

"Business Must Checkmate War"

Mr. Bennett Chapple, Vice President of the American Rolling Mill Company and a director of the Advertising Federation of America and of the Association of National Advertisers, declared in an address before the national convention of the latter organization that American industry must fight war by means of modern business methods. "Destruction through war is self-evident," declared Mr. Chapple, "but the gnawing of tax burdens that have been built up in the years immediately following conflict puts a throttling hand at the throat of every man, woman and child for generations to come. Advertising . . . is the logical way through which to build understanding and confidence in these steps toward peace. Mr. Chapple is a member of the organizing committee of the newly-founded World Peaceways, Inc., an organization devoted to the promotion of world understanding through advertising.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Our Great Leviathan

The Modern Corporation and Private Property. By Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and Gardner C. Means. Commerce Clearing House, Inc. 396 pp. $4.50.

The Holding Company. By James C. Bonbright and Gardner C. Means. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 398 pp. $4.00.

American Business Leaders. By Frank W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn. The Macmillan Company. 319 pp. $3.75.

THE great leviathan of today is not the state, about which the royalist Hobbes wrote so eloquently in the seventeenth century, but rather modern business. For, as Messrs. Berle and Means demonstrate, the 200 largest non-banking corporations in the country, nearly all of which had assets in 1930 of over 100 million dollars, control approximately 49 per cent of all corporate wealth, 38 per cent of all business wealth, and 22 per cent of all national wealth, including agricultural land and improvements. During the 20 years from 1909 to 1928 the assets of these corporations, moreover, increased at a rate which was two and two-thirds times as great as that for all other corporations and during the decade of the twenties at over three times the rate of growth in the national wealth.

So far as the ownership of the securities of these corporations is concerned, an appreciable diffusion is shown to have developed during the years from 1916 to 1921. Thus in the former year, the wealthiest 25,000 people in the country received about 57 per cent of all corporate dividends while those other than the wealthiest 100,000 persons received but 22 per cent. By 1921, the share of the former group had declined to 35 per cent while that of the latter had increased to approximately 45 per cent. During the next six years, despite the enthusiasm over employee and customer ownership, the relative distribution of dividends remained approximately the same.

But this greater diffusion of ownership did not mean any greater diffusion of control. There is on the other hand a concentration of control which, in approximately 44 per cent of the companies possessing 58 per cent of the resources, is exercised by inside managerial groups; in about one-fourth of the companies, possessing one-seventh of the total assets, by those owning a considerable minority of the stock; and in about one-fifth of the companies with an equal proportion of the total assets, through the use of such legal devices as non-voting stock, voting trusts, and the pyramiding of control through holding companies and the like. The control of these corporations, as Mr. Means pointed out in an earlier article, is, as a matter of fact, in the hands of less than 2,000 directors, and since a large number of these are inactive the ultimate control of nearly half of corporate industry is in the possession of a few hundred men. The interests of these insiders are in many directions adverse to those of the stockholders whom theoretically they are supposed to represent. Properties and commodities can be unloaded upon the corporations at high prices by the insiders to the profit of the latter, and the prices of the stock can be manipulated.

In his able volume on the holding company, Professor Bonbright thoroughly analyzes one of the devices which have been used to widen the area of business control which can be exercised with a given amount of capital. The pyramiding of control which the holding company makes possible is illustrated by an example. Let us assume that Company A is capitalized for 200 million dollars of which 70 millions is represented by bonds, 70 millions more by non-voting preferred stock and 60 millions by common stock. A group buying into the company can then obtain absolute control by purchasing a little over 30 millions of the common stock. The group can then turn this stock over to a holding company B which can issue to them in return ten millions in bonds, ten millions in non-voting preferred stock and ten millions in common stock. The controlling group can then sell to the general public the bonds and preferred stock and up to five millions of the common stock. The slightly over five million dollars of common stock which they retain will thus wield control over the 200 million dollar operating company.

But even this outlay of resources can be minimized, for a second holding company C can be piled on top of the first. This company may assume the five million dollars of stock in B and give to the controlling group two millions of bonds, one million of preferred stock and two millions of common stock. The group can then sell all of the first two issues and a little less than a million of the latter and thus retain control over the basic operating company with an actual investment of a little over one-half of one per cent of the actual capital controlled. In some cases, indeed, by piling additional holding companies on top of each other, the amount of control exercised by a dollar at the top can be still further magnified.

This use and multiplication of holding companies not only gives the promoters and financial interests great power over other people's money but it makes the "securities" and particularly the common stock of the holding companies highly speculative investments. For these "securities" derive their income from the residual earnings of the more basic companies. During the period of prosperity, if company A makes 18 millions of dollars of which 3.5 millions goes to the bondholders and five millions to the preferred stock holders, then the remaining 9.5 millions goes to the common stock. This amounts to a return of about 16 per cent. Holding company B therefore has an income of approximately 4.75 millions upon which it in turn may pay out, say, $600,000 in interest on its bonds and somewhere around $750,000 on its stock, leaving 3.4 millions for its common stock. This would be a profit ratio of 34 per cent. If holding company C is utilized in the same manner, then the claims of the preferred stock and bond holders can be satisfied with the payment of somewhere between $200,000 and $250,000. leaving over three millions or 150 per cent to its common stock holders.

in periods of depression this elaborate house of cards is to collapse. For a slight decline in the net earnings of the companies will produce a greatly magnified shrinking in the g power of the holding companies. Thus, let the net earnf company A fall to 12 millions, then the amount left over e common stock in that company will not only decrease to illions, and the total income of holding company B to 1.75 ns, but the dividends on the common stock of that company all to only $400,000 or to 4 per cent instead of 34 per cent rmerly. The common stockholders in holding company B n turn receive almost nothing.

s to the great credit of Professor Bonbright that he pointed l of these dangers in the days of the boom market and made d criticisms of the structure of the Insull group of com- in particular. The events of the last few months have ht a striking, if melancholy, corroboration of his prophecies ave demonstrated that the savings of the small investors in companies are but little if any safer than are the jobs of orkers in industry at large.

th the control of American industry in the hands of such a vely small group, the distinguished economist Professor F. aussig and his associate, Mr. Joslyn, set themselves the task termining from what groups in the community these con- rs of our destiny have sprung. Out of over 7,000 of such rs who were studied, it was found that the business class had ced 112 times as many leaders in proportion to its numbers d the unskilled workers, 18 times as many as the skilled ers, 12 times as many as the farmers and 4 times as many e clerks and salesmen. This disparity, however, the authors be, on not wholly conclusive evidence, to innate differences een the classes rather than to economic privilege.

hatever may be the truth of this last contention, all three of books should be prescribed for those who believe that the days of individual initiative and opportunity, which Horatio r celebrated, still exist. As Messrs. Berle and Means point "To the dozen or so men in control, there is room for much ative. For the tens and even hundreds of thousands of kers and owners in a single enterprise, individual initiative onger exists. Their activity is group activity on a scale so e that the individual, except he be in a position of control, has ped into relative insignificance."

P. H. D.

Toward Further Discovery

al Problems and Social Planning. By Cecil G. North. McGraw Hill. 401 pp. $3.50.

ROFESSOR NORTH has written a most useful volume to be used in introductory or elementary courses in sociology. purpose of the work is to give to students of social problems cient understanding of theory so that the separate problems which they have to deal may be grounded in fundamental cal and social concepts. Accordingly the first six chapters are cerned with the question of human needs, attitudes and values, the basic elements of culture, and the methods of deliberate ural change. The chapters which follow take up more specific blems such as international and race relations, population, ily, education, leisure and the control of our economic and tical machinery.

he outstanding feature of the work is the explicit and con- t recognition of the dynamic character of society. This em- sis upon the changing world dominates the entire discussion, and no student of Professor North, in dealing with some practical problem, will be tempted easily to assume that he has "the right answer" for all time. Against this background of an evolving society the author brings into clear relief the possibility of, and the need for, deliberate planning in human affairs as a substitute for "chance or for haphazard effort." "The kind of society toward which we look is one in which this acquiescence with chance is discredited and a deliberate effort made to control our destinies by guiding and controlling the forces that play upon us." All the activities of life, economic, educational, religious, international, racial, "call for some thinking through by central agencies." "Life that has become so interdependent and intertwined as ours today cannot be directed and guided merely by multiplied isolated agencies."

The primary difficulty which such a volume encounters is apparent. It deals with a vast number of the most complicated of all human problems. It cannot escape a certain superficiality. No single chapter, however able, can deal fully with religion or the family or race relations. And yet the student must be introduced to these questions. The only way to judge such a discussion is by determining whether, within the given limits, the author has succeeded in fairly presenting the field, in placing it in relation to other human interests, and in stimulating the student to further discovery. If an author has met these tests the charge of superficiality may be dismissed. Professor North has not only met the tests but has met them with distinction.

HELEN EVERETT

Still on Probation

Beyond Desire. By Sherwood Anderson. Liveright. $2.50.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON'S new Communist colleagues, it is reported, regard his earlier novels as too bourgeois to entitle him to more than a novitiate in the Communist cult. Perhaps he wrote his latest novel with the unconscious purpose of avowing his Communist creed and proving himself an orthodox champion of the class struggle. But Anderson is a better photographer of the American scene than an exponent of proletarian life. His new novel will therefore hardly escape the papal index. The scene is laid in a Southern mill village, and the pathos of the life of mill-hands, both men and women, is accurately portrayed. But the hero is a young college lad, son of a doctor, who works in the mills because he has ambitions to be a writer of proletarian literature. He becomes associated with the Communists and is killed in a fracas with the militia. He is driven into his adventure because he wants to find some meaning in life "beyond desire." Unfortunately most of Anderson's pages are devoted to the description of pitiful characters who are seeking the satisfaction of desire rather than something beyond. The bulk of the novel is devoted to an analysis of the secret thoughts and motives of a frustrated sensual woman who has only a slight connection with the hero's life. There is more about fornication than about the class struggle in the book. The outstanding characters are middle-class rather than proletarian. They are driven by highly individualistic ambitions to give meaning and purpose to life rather than by the bitter necessities which animate the revolutionary ardor of the true proletarian.

Beyond Desire is a better picture of a confused, disintegrating middle-class world than of the new proletarian world which will rise to destroy this confusion. It is the work of a man who is intellectually committed to the revolutionary creed but who still lives emotionally in the world which he holds in contempt. The

novel is a significant revelation of the present mood of Sherwood Anderson and it is in a sense an accurate mirror and typical product of the present American scene. But it is not proletarian literature. It is the picture of a civilization still obsessed with the gratification of confused and conflicting desires and with only a romantic ambition to escape from it. The proletarian cause is only vaguely related in Anderson's story to the inexorable economic forces which are creating it. It is the story of a middle-class rebel against middle-class life who regards the proletarian cause more as a method of achieving salvation for the individual than as a way of redeeming society. If we held membership in the Communist executive committee we would feel compelled to keep Mr. Anderson in the probationers' class until he wrote a more satisfactory novel.

R. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

Red Stuff

HERE is a chance to laugh! Recently I was on a speaking tour in Canada—London, Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal. When I crossed over from Detroit the Canadian immigration and customs officer examined the contents of my suitcase and found two copies of THE WORLD TOMORROW. He grabbed them, saying "This stuff is red, isn't it?" Turning the pages he ejaculated "Socialism!" and again he turned to me and asked, "This is socialism and red, is it not?" I replied, "Yes, almost as red as the New Testament. It is good Christian socialism." He had evidently never heard of that brand.

When told that I was entering Canada for a speaking schedule of eight days he gave me another "once-over," remarked "We don't want any red stuff over here" and passed on. Men are judged by the company which they keep and I entered Canada under a cloud of suspicion! Evidently the fame of your paper and pen had preceded me. More power to both!

New York, N. Y. WILLIAM AXLING

More About Rochester-Colgate

IN THE WORLD TOMORROW under date of Nov. 16, 1932, you print a letter written by a student of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School giving his impressions of the dedication of their new buildings. I doubt not that he has pierced the sham and discovered the inutility of such demonstration, but I believe he has made a very superficial observation of the real situation.

That student is no doubt at the present moment accepting the freely offered bounty of John D. and men in a similar position to the extent of more than half of his livelihood. The ease and comfort in which he is preparing himself for some kind of ministry, perhaps to curse the wealthy because they have money and bless the poverty stricken because they haven't, is supplied through the same medium. I should think he would feel the burden of the millions of whom he speaks and smell the stench of their wasted blood ever in his surroundings.

So far as I know, every student here is my friend, and I marvel that this friend does not leave this accursed place for the schools established and maintained by the freely offered pittances of the coal miner, the factory laborer and the oilfield man. Find the schools and colleges they have built and get your education there, my friend. Take your sick to their hospitals and use the science and medicine discovered and developed in their endowed laboratories. Not that I would give glory to John D. or to any other man of wealth; but I do believe that he is no less a man than the lowliest laborer in the deepest mine. No, from the standpoint of humanities they who are multi-millionaires are just as much victims of circumstances as are the most needy unemployed.

Let us be broadminded enough and fair enough to criticize the system in which we live as a whole, and ourselves as a part of it, rather than select individuals and institutions who are our benefactors and bite the hands that feed us. Who of you is not responsible for the suffering of the laborer, and for the unsatisfied thirst of the wealthiest person in the country?

Rochester, N. Y. F. MARION THARP.

And Still More

THE letter by Student XYZ, giving his reactions to the dedication of the new Colgate-Rochester divinity school, strikes a tender spot in my heart. I also was there; I am a "old grad" of that school. I too realized that the beautiful buildings had been built with "God's Gold." Yet, in spite of all my misgivings, I honestly tried to reason the matter through, in the light of the future, rather than of the past.

Here, I said to myself, is a splendid set of buildings which can well be put to Christ's service. Here is the best of equipment—from the palatial dining-room, to the modern gym—which will be used in the days to come for the training of young men for the greatest task on earth. What if they do sleep upon air-cushion mattresses? They will go forth as fearless prophets of God, not caring for position or comfort, favor or money, but preaching the burning message of social and industrial righteousness. Here, I said to myself, is a wonderful chance; but will the students, the professors, the president, make the most of it? I forced myself to say, "Yes, of course."

But, sad to say, the new buildings have not given the seminary a new outlook; they have not made the professors a bit more far-sighted; they have not made the president any more daring. Only recently Norman Thomas was barred from speaking before the student body upon the new campus! A pretty poor start for a school of the prophets! Anyone would naturally think that a school which claims to be progressive, as Rochester does, would welcome such a soul.

This week another great soul spoke at the seminary on "Communism and the Far East"; I mean Sherwood Eddy. He challenged the ministers, professors, and students to make up and actually begin to build a new social order throughout the world; for unless they do, he suggested, they will be shot down in their sleep at the hand of wild revolutionists. When he finished, the president arose and with great dignity said, "I just love this sort of thing." I had to laugh to myself then, and later, in talking with several students, discovered that they too had fits of laughter over this remark. Why, if that president should follow out Sherwood Eddy's lead, he and his whole seminary would be turned upside down, inside out, and the students would think that a revolution had set in. What the president meant, of course, was "I love to talk these things over and hear them discussed, and then, for decorum's sake, to leave the whole thing alone."

In spite of it all, I remain hopeful. A miracle may yet happen which will release prophets from this school built with "God's Gold." Something may happen which will transform the professors into burning lights of God and the president into a bold and fearless crusader for a new social world order. Because I love my seminary and expect great things of it, I live in hopes!

Clifton Springs, New York STANLEY I. STUBER

The Sacredness of the Ballot

N election day I acted as Socialist watcher in three polling-places. In not one of the three were the sample ballots, with h all inspectors are supplied, displayed. In two instances this done when I demanded it; in the other the inspectors claimed now nothing about them. A friend voting in a fourth polling- told me that the sample ballot was displayed there but was d in such a way as to show only the two top rows of party s—Democrats and Republicans.

I the polling-place in which I stayed all afternoon I could not the inspector to instruct the voters fairly and fully. His od, apart from telling how to open and shut the curtain, was ll down the levers on the top row, then one or two on the d row and then dismiss the rest with a wave of the hand. ss I intervened and began myself to point to the detail on ample ballot, he would do no more, and he constantly resented "butting in" to assist voters.

hen specifically asked by a voter how to vote for McKee, he d say: "I don't know myself; it is not on this machine." I lied the information frequently myself, and lent my pencil n requested, as this inspector never did.

he man at the curtain-cord several times hurried the voters, ough at no time did I see him look at any watch. I myself time, and in no instance did any voter take as much as the e minutes that are allowed. The object of the curtain-man ansparent. Only people planning to vote for some independent idate need take much time. The voter voting a straight ticket vs he has only to run his hand along one row and pull down ts levers.

woman thanked me for telling her where the names of the pendent judges were and begged me to tell her sister, who to vote later, for both of them were under the impression the judges were to be voted for by writing in their names. e voters, until I told them, did not know that *any* four levers nt be pulled down in voting for justices, or even that more one in the same column could be selected.

could give other facts from my experience, both in this and ormer elections, to show how little fairness any independent y or candidate may expect from the general run of inspectors, Democratic and Republican. I could also give facts to show collusion of the police with this unfair partisan superintendence he supreme function of the citizen.

ew York, N. Y. C. GUILLET.

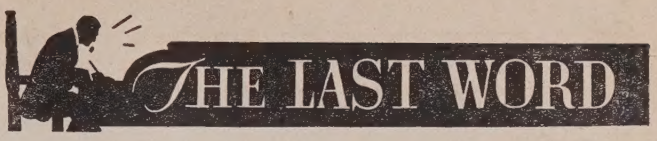
NNOUNCEMENTS

Brookwood Bazaar

HE Brookwood Fellowship is holding a bazaar at the Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, December 2, 3, 4, to e funds for Brookwood Labor College.

he only educational institution of its kind in America, Brook- d is facing the most critical period of its existence. For twelve rs it has carried on progressive workers' education, and in r to make possible the continuance of this work, Brookwood n need of immediate assistance.

ooks of all kinds, portraits, paintings, cartoons, tapestries, ll rugs, lamps, novelties, fancy embroideries and blouses, an- es, and new shirts, hose, hosiery, etc., will be welcome contribu- s to the bazaar. Please address contributions to Sam Bakely, okwood Fellowship Bazaar Committee, 523 W. 121st Street, w York, or notify him to send for them.



FAR be it from me to add to the troubles of the League of Nations, but it is high time somebody did something about a long-standing breach of the Versailles Treaty. For a considerable period of time, I have been worrying about the Mystic Skull of the Sultan Mkwawa. It really belongs to the people of Tanganyika, in East Africa, but it disappeared during the War. The natives swear that the Germans swiped it during their invasion. But the German government, on the other hand, stoutly asserts that the skull was buried in Tanganyika itself, though, unfortunately, they have no clue as to the exact location. Article 246 of the Versailles Treaty explicitly determines German responsibility for the return of the coveted symbol, which, according to well-established native lore, brings prosperity. And if you are inclined to scoff at that, just remember how a lot of empty skulls at Washington during the period from 1920 to 1929 gave prosperity to the United States. The British government has done something about this evasion of Treaty rights, for on two occasions it has entered formal pleas with the German Foreign Office. As recently as December 3, 1930, Mr. Arthur Henderson, then Foreign Secretary, had to discuss the issue in the House of Commons, replying sadly to a questioner that it had him stumped. The famous skull has been hunted for, over many an acre, and in many a cupboard of war relics; but it just doesn't turn up. What is the use of holding great meetings of governmental representatives, this winter, in an economic conference to restore world trade, when so fundamental a lapse in international agreements is allowed to go unchallenged? Personally, I think the moment has come for a great international protest through, perhaps, a boycott. I'll start it myself. Not one bit of limburger cheese shall I eat until the bereft population of Tanganyika gets back the pilfered Mystic Skull of the Sultan Mkwawa. International order, you know, must be founded on a willingness to make great sacrifices for right and justice.

FINANCIAL wizards have pointed out that there was an unseasonal rise in the circulation of money on election day, the excess sum in circulation that day amounting to $35,000,000. There is no need to jump at conclusions; some of this money undoubtedly went to the great department stores which remained open; some of it was used on family picnics; some of it was expended on libations; some of it, however, was certainly used for automobiles to bring voters to the polls, for free lunches, and other means of proving that elections in this country are devoid of corruption. Vote-buying, in an outright sense, is pretty largely a thing of the past, but its modern counterparts remain and flourish in proud respectability. Eccentricus has not forgotten Zeb Milesgate, long since deceased, who used to bargain with both town committee chairmen in a last-minute drive to push the price of his vote up to ten dollars. One year, both of the bosses got together and agreed not to deal with him at all. Zeb died soon after, not of hunger, either, but doubtless of a broken heart over the drift toward new and untried governmental experiments.

MR. H. C. ENGELBRECHT, who supplies Eccentricus with many a quip and curio, tells this one on the election. Before the fatal day, a man wanted to get from California to New York, and was lacking in carfare. He must have possessed political insight, for he painted a sign and hung it on his back, and as a result he landed in the East in exactly five days, by auto. The sign said: "Give me a lift or I'll vote for Hoover."

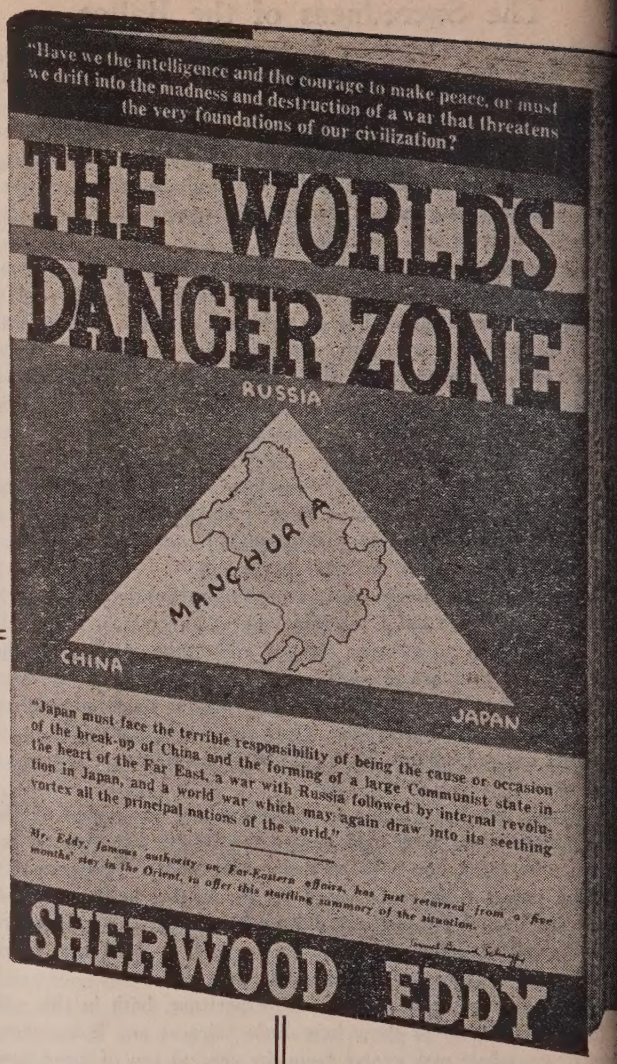
Eccentricus

Will Manchuria be another Belgium?

Read this Startling Summary of the Far Eastern Situation by

SHERWOOD EDDY

Author of "The Challenge of the East"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THE WORLD'S DANGER ZONE
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MANCHURIA
CHINA
JAPAN
"Japan must face the terrible responsibility of being the cause or occasion of the break-up of China and the forming of a large Communist state in the heart of the Far East, a war with Russia followed by internal revolution in Japan, and a war which may again draw into its seething vortex all the principal nations of the world."
Mr. Eddy, famous authority on Far-Eastern affairs, has just returned from a five months' stay in the Orient, to offer this startling summary of the situation.
SHERWOOD EDDY

The World's Danger Zone

"Japan must face the terrible responsibility of being the cause or occasion of the break-up of China and the forming of a large Communist state in the heart of the Far East, a war with Russia followed by internal revolution in Japan, and a war which may again draw into its seething vortex all the principal nations of the world."

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